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ABSTRACT

This paper examines the paratextual structure of news texts, i.e., the headline system (superheadline, main headline, and subheadline) and the lead. In the first part of the paper T. A. van Dijk's interdisciplinary theory (1988) of "news in the press" is reviewed with special reference to the status and function assigned to the paratext. In the second part of the paper, an alternative theoretical framework is presented. The fundamental hypothesis of this theory is that the paratextual units of news texts constitute a coherent and relatively autonomous microsystem, despite certain structural and functional differences, and that this microsystem is placed as a text strategic field (threshold) between the sender and receiver of news text. Appended are samples of news text to illustrate the theory. (Author/JP)

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News discourse: The paratextual structure of news texts

FINN FRANDSEN

Abstract

This paper examines what I call the paratextual structure of news texts, i.e. the headline system (superheadline, main headline and subheadline) and the lead. In the first part of the paper I review T.A. van Dijk's 'new, interdisciplinary theory of news in the press', with special reference to the status and function assigned to the paratext. In the second part of the paper, I present an alternative theoretical framework. The fundamental hypothesis of this theory is that the paratextual units of news texts constitute a coherent and relatively autonomous microsystem, despite certain structural and functional differences, and that this microsystem is placed as a text strategic field ('threshold') between the sender and the receiver of the news text.

1. Introduction

One of the most characteristic features of research within text linguistics and discourse analysis in the eighties has been the growing interest in analysis of the news discourse of the mass media and particularly in the analysis of the textual and cognitive structures of the newstexts. This interest, to which the publication of several books, monographs and special issues of scientific journals bears testimony[1], distinguishes itself in a number of ways. Let me just underline two of them.

Firstly, it contains the possibility of an interdisciplinary collaboration between mass communication research on the one hand and discourse analysis on the other. A suitable task for such a collaboration could be an improvement in the quantitative and message-orientated content analysis which has been the method above all within the study of mass communication for nearly forty years, and which in my opinion is played out today.

Secondly, it indirectly contains a dissociation from the normative and puristic criticism which has all too often set its mark on the linguistic analysis of newspaper language and newspaper texts. This kind of criticism, which is as old as the press itself, partly explains why newspapers have not been researched to a greater extent, although news language and news texts are important factors in social communication and constitute an excellent instrument for language learning.

Thus, the current interest in the news discourse opens up new perspectives and contributes to a strengthening of the position of text linguistics and discourse analysis within the human and social sciences.

The most ambitious attempt so far to make an explicit, systematic and theoretically founded description of the textual structures of news discourse can be found in Teun A. van Dijk's two books: *News as Discourse* and *News Analysis*, both published in

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1988. The theoretical framework proposed in these two books is a very important step towards a more detailed understanding of news text and the production and reception of news. But - as van Dijk himself admits - it is still only an outline of a theory which needs to be further researched, both theoretically and empirically.

My contribution to this NORDTEXT symposium consists of two parts.

In the first part of my paper I would like to present and criticize that part of van Dijk's "new, interdisciplinary theory of news in the press" (van Dijk, 1988a: VII) which concerns what I call *the paratextual structure of the news text*. The notion of paratext was introduced by Gèrard Genette in 1987 as a designation for the threshold that the reader of a literary work has to pass before he reaches the text in the proper sense of the word: that is, the title page, the name of the author, titles, dedications, epigraphs, prefaces, notes etc[2]. I am convinced that the notion of paratext - or at least the fundamental idea behind the notion - can be used with great advantage in the analysis of non-literary texts and in particular in the analysis of news texts. Thus in the following, paratext denotes the headline system of the news text (superheadline, main headline, subheadline) as well as the so-called lead.

In the second part of my paper I would like to outline some elements of an alternative theoretical framework which can explain the paratextual phenomena not covered by van Dijk's concept. The fundamental hypothesis of this theory is that the paratext of newspapers acts as a "threshold", and that this specific status has an influence on both the internal structure and the function of the paratext in relation to the text.

2. Van Dijk: *News as Discourse* (1988) and *News Analysis* (1988).

The research field to which van Dijk has devoted most of his efforts since the beginning of the seventies is the global organization of the discourse or the text - the organization that guarantees that a sequence of sentences or paragraphs is read as a coherent text or discourse at semantic, syntactic and pragmatic macrolevels. It is therefore natural that this field should also be central to his theory of the textual structures of news discourse and consequently to his concept of paratextual units such as headlines and leads.

According to van Dijk the paratext forms an important part of the two kinds of global structures that he operates with: thematic macrostructures and schematic superstructures. Although this theory of global discourse structuring is well known, I intend to outline van Dijk's concept, with special reference to the status and function assigned to the paratext.

Van Dijk defines *thematic macrostructures* as "higher-level semantic or conceptual structures that organize the "local" microstructures of discourse, interaction, and their cognitive processing" (van Dijk, 1980: V). The basis of this notion is the capacity of the language user to organize and reduce even very complex information units into one or a few macropropositions which the human memory can stock and recall. According to van Dijk, these macropropositions express the theme or topic of a whole text - in brief: "what the text is all about".

This organization and reduction of a complex quantity of information is governed by rules. Van Dijk enumerates three macrorules - the rules of Deletion, of Generalization and of Construction - which he assumes govern the creation of a macrostructure (a set of macropropositions) from the lexical, morpho-syntactic and textual microstructures (van Dijk, 1980: 46-50 and 1988a: 32). These macrorules are recursive; they can be applied again at a higher level of abstraction, provided there is at least one macroproposition, and as even a short newspaper article contains several themes or topics, the macrostructure usually gets a hierarchical form. The "highest" macroproposition in this hierarchy represents the most important, the most relevant and the most abstract information in the text concerned.

The status and function of the paratext in relation to the thematic macrostructures of the news text may now be defined as follows:

The paratext is a direct signal or expression in the linguistic surface structure of the theme or topic of the news text and functions in this sense as a summary of the text (cf. van Dijk, 1988a: 34, 35 and 36*).*

It must at once be emphasized that this wording cannot be found directly in van Dijk's two books. My formulation of his definition is constructed from various partial definitions. Besides, van Dijk is very cautious in his definition of the paratext. He considers the paratext as "a first important feature of newspaper discourse", but several times he modifies his definition using phrases as "may be" and "apparently".

Before we look upon the status and function of the paratext in relation to the schematic superstructures, we must raise a small problem.

In their book *Discourse Analysis* (1983: 106-114) Gillian Brown and George Yule have criticized the proposition-based representation of discourse content, and in connection with this van Dijk's theory of semantic macrostructures. One of the main points of their criticism, which builds on their own fundamental conception that it "is speakers and writers who have topics, not texts" (Brown and Yule, 1983: 68), may be summarized in the following way: what van Dijk is formalizing is not the content of discourse as such, but only one single interpretation. This interpretation cannot really

be tested, but can only be challenged by another discourse analyst maintaining that his semantic representation of the content is different from that of van Dijk. And we have no grounds on which to decide which of the two is correct. Thus Brown and Yule conclude that: "There may, in fact, be no such thing as a single correct semantic representation for a text, if that semantic representation is treated as something which people have in their heads" (Brown and Yule, 1983: 114).

The criticism of Brown and Yule is directed against the early version of van Dijk's theory of macrostructures in *Text and Context* (1977), but in *News as Discourse* (1988 a) and *News Analysis* (1988 b) there appears to be no evidence for this criticism. Here van Dijk stresses, though not without some ambiguity, that themes or topics are assigned to a text by *strategic macrointerpretation by the language user* (van Dijk, 1988a: 33-34). As the macrorules do not only operate on the basis of text propositions, but also include world knowledge on the part of the language user, it means that the derived macrostructure may be subjective. Different language users may find different information in the text more or less important or relevant. A more precise definition of the theme or topic of a text would therefore be: "A topic of a text is a strategically derived subjective macroproposition, which is assigned to sequences of propositions by macroprocesses (rules, strategies) on the basis of general world knowledge and personal beliefs and interests. Such a topic is part of a hierarchical, topical or thematic structure - the semantic macrostructure" (van Dijk, 1988a: 34-35).

Van Dijk tries to account for this strategic macrointerpretation by means of the notion of *relevance structure*. The relevance structure "indicates to the reader which information in the text is most important or prominent" (van Dijk, 1985b: 70). To be more specific - according to the sender or enunciator of the text. The relations between the macropropositions of a hierarchical macrostructure are abstract and formal derivation relations: the ordering of macropropositions at each level is defined by the ordering of expressed propositions at the lower levels, that is by the order of propositions and sentences in the text. But these derivation relations do not tell us anything specific about the thematic realization. This thematic realization does not need to follow a "left-right realization". On the contrary, the text may by means of "various devices" (van Dijk mentions the linear organization of the text and the paratextual structure) express or assign different relevance values to the themes or topics of the hierarchical structure.

Thus, if we want to represent all the details of van Dijk's concept of the paratext, we have to reformulate the definition of the status and function of the paratext above:

The paratext is a direct signal or expression in the linguistic surface structure of the theme or topic considered to be the most relevant by the sender or enunciator of the news text, and functions in this sense as a summary of the text.

The thematic macrostructures are in many cases subjected to another organization principle. This principle arises from the *schematic superstructures* defined by van Dijk as "the schematic form that organizes the global meaning of a text" (van Dijk, 1980: 108-109). Although the superstructures do not have the same necessary status as the thematic macrostructures, but only a conventional one, the basis of this notion can also be said to be cognitive, as far as the superstructures are accepted, learned and used by the language users.

A schematic superstructure defines functional relations between semantic units at the syntactic macrolevel. Van Dijk asserts that some of these functional relations are conventionalized for certain types of discourse in certain societies or cultures, and that this conventionalization creates fixed formal schemas for the global content of these types of discourse, defined by a set of functional categories and specific formation and transformation rules.

On the basis of a large corpus of news texts, van Dijk asserts the existence of a fixed *news schema* used by both journalists and readers during the production and reception of news (van Dijk, 1980:121, 1988a: 52-57). If we ignore the paratextual structure, this *news schema* contains six main categories: Main Events, Consequences, Context, History, Verbal Reactions, and Conclusions. Each of these categories comprises superordinate- and subcategories.

Van Dijk stresses that the presence of all six categories is not necessary in order to have a minimally well-formed news discourse. Only Headline and Main Events are obligatory. Besides, the categories may be recursive; they may be repeated several times in accordance with the "installment character" which very often characterizes the thematic structure of a news text. Neither do the categories have to follow the established order: the relevance structure mentioned may use the superstructural transformation rules and change the order of the categories. In other words, the *news schema* has a highly elastic structure.

The status and function of the paratext in relation to the schematic superstructures of the news text may be defined in the following way:

The paratextual elements Headline and Lead are functional categories of the news schema and constitute the supercategory Summary. Headline is obligatory, while Lead is optional. Headline precedes Lead, and together they precede the other categories of the news schema. They constitute empty forms, which can be assigned

various meanings, provided these meanings summarize the most relevant theme or topic of the text (van Dijk, 1988a: 39, 40, and 47).

3. Objections to van Dijk's concept of the paratext

My criticism of van Dijk's conception of the paratextual structure of news texts may be presented in the form of three objections.

The first concerns the status of the paratext. The theory of van Dijk implies that the paratext is considered as an *integral part of the text*. Without such a conception, he would not be able to propose his definition of headline and lead as expressing and summarizing the (most relevant) theme or topic of a text. But in my opinion, van Dijk thereby overlooks the most conspicuous feature of the paratextual structure of news texts, namely, its status as a linguistic "threshold" with functions in two directions at the same time. I shall return to this in a moment.

My second objection concerns the elements of the paratextual structure. Van Dijk does not deal with all the paratextual elements of the news text. The relations between the superheadline, the main headline and the subheadline, which very often form a joint system with specific features, are not discussed, neither are the internal subheadlines, which have a particular position within the paratextual structure.

The last, but also the most important, objection concerns the function of the paratext. According to van Dijk it is the function of the paratextual structure to *summarize* the (most relevant) theme or topic of the text. This conception carries conviction at first sight, and corresponds with a widespread idea of the function of titles in both literary and non-literary text. However, it becomes rather problematic when is applied to newspaper articles. In the first place, van Dijk does not state exactly what we are to understand by "summary" in this connexion, and his introduction of the notion of relevance structure does not make the problem less complicated. In the second place, one very often encounters paratextual structures that contain elements which cannot be explained as having a summarizing function (cf. Appendix 2).

4. An alternative theoretical framework

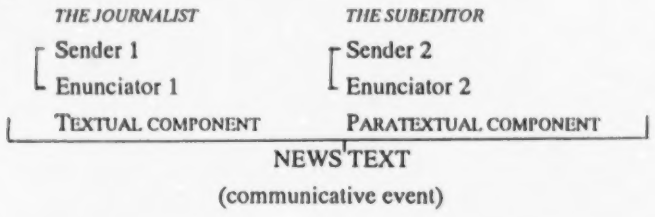
What we need is a theory which can explain both the examples covered by van Dijk's concept and the examples which exceed this concept. I shall now outline some elements of such an alternative theoretical framework.

The fundamental hypothesis of this theory is that the paratextual units of news texts constitute a coherent and relatively autonomous microsystem, despite certain

structural and functional differences, and that this microsystem has a specific status in relation to the text regarded as a communicative event. In contrast to the traditional conceptions of the relation between paratext and text as either an integral part of the text (cf. Dressler, 1972: 18) or as a component outside the text having only a delimiting function (cf. Harweg, 1968: 156-157), I follow the conception formulated by Gèrard Genette according to which the paratext is a set of small textual units which are neither to be found outside nor inside the text: *the paratext is the threshold of the news text, placed as a text strategic field between the sender and the receiver of the news text* (Genette, 1987: 7-8).

This hypothesis is supported by a number of observations. Firstly, the sender or enunciator of the paratextual component of the news text is not identical with the sender or enunciator of the textual component (in the proper sense of the word). After writing his article, the journalist sends it to the subeditor who edits the text and provides it with headline and lead. Thus, the news text involves a pragmatic structure in two parts.

Figure 1.



Secondly, the paratext is articulated in two different, overlapping semiotic systems: a linguistic-textual system consisting of those standards of textuality which all texts have to comply with, and a spatial-typographical system (the page-setting), which uses "visual variables" such as the size, form and colour of the letters, blanks, illustrations, etc. (J.-F. Tétu, 1982: 117-12). The description of this spatial-typographical system lies outside the task of text linguistics and discourse analysis and the use of it is not sufficient to define the paratextual component as such, as maintained by Gouazé (1979: 121). But it is an important and characteristic feature of the paratext of news texts.

Thirdly, the paratextual units present specific linguistic and textual features. Among these features I would like to mention the particular use of the present tense and of the definite article and its anaphoric function (Mouillaud and Tétu, 1989: 115-120). However we analyze and explain these phenomena, they underline the fact that the paratext has to be regarded as a relatively autonomous communicative level.

Within the limits of this alternative conception, it is now possible to describe and explain in a more satisfactory way the function of the headline system and the lead, which constitutes the most interesting aspect of the paratext from a text linguistic or discourse analytic point of view.

We may distinguish between three general functions which can all be specified further, according to the linguistic or textual means used by the sender.

Certain paratextual units (e.g. the main headline) may have a *designating function* in relation to the news text, i.e. that the paratext is able to designate or to refer to the text in the proper sense of the word and to function as a metalinguistic proper name at a higher semiotic level. Thus, the paratext has a double semiotic status: when it designates or refers to the same referent as the text, the paratext is *homo-referential*, and when it refers to another referent than the text (another referent = the text as a linguistic unit), the paratext is *hetero-referential*.

Next, the paratext - and this time all paratextual units are included - may have a metacommunicative function in relation to the receiver's reception of the news text. This function can be divided into a reception-creating function before the reading process and a reception-governing function during the reading process. The metacommunicative function has been described by psycholinguistics and cognitive psychology and does not in my opinion form part of the research field of text linguistics and discourse analysis.

Finally, the paratext may have an *interpretive function*, i.e. the function of the paratext in relation to the news text during its own production. Only the homo-referential paratext has this function, which forms the basis of the two other general functions. Thus, the homo-referential paratext may be conceived as *the result of an interpretive process realized by a specific sender/enunciator (the subeditor) in order to produce a strategic metacommunicative government of the communication established by the news text.* The description of the interpretive function of the paratext lies within the research field of text linguistics and discourse analysis, as both the starting point and the finishing point of the interpretive process are textualized.

The result of the interpretive function of the paratext may very well take the shape of a partial or complete summary of the following news text. Appendix (1) shows how superheadline and lead on the one hand and main headline on the other summarize (= sum.) central and hierarchically organized information (= 1, 1a, 1b) of the news text.

News text:
1) La Bourse de Paris a commencé la semaine sur une note de faiblesse...
1a) Les exercices se suivent mais ne se ressemblent pas à la Gèophysique /.../.
1b) Rien de très significatif n'a été observé du côté des hausses. Seule, la SAE s'est une fois de plus distinguée, avec un gain /.../.

Superheadline:
1sum.) La Bourse de Paris poursuit inexorablement sa baisse: - 0,94 %–

Lead:
1sum.) Avec un nouveau repli de l'indice Cac 40 (-0, 94 %), la Bourse de Paris est en passe d'effacer l'ensemble de ses gains obtenus depuis le début de l'année

Main headline:
1b sum.) La SAE toujours très entourée
1a sum.) Géophysique cède du terrain

In this case we have a summary which transforms both the linguistic form and the linearity of the text.

But the result may also have a completely different form. Appendix (2) shows e. g. that the lead does not have to summarize the following text, but is able to contain information not included in it (= 2). Main headline and subheadline summarize an important piece of information (= 1) in the text, but with a kind of comment contained in the Main headline (the intertextual reference to Samuel Beckett's play *En attendant Godot*).

News text:
1) La démocratie n'est jamais que la dictature de la majorité sur la minorité; d'ou l'idéal d'une monarchie constitutionelle. Après soixante-dix ans de dictature du prolétariat, la monarchie entraînera la formation de l'élite nécessaire pour combattre l'idéologie satanique /.../.–

Main headline:
1 sum.) En attendant le roi...

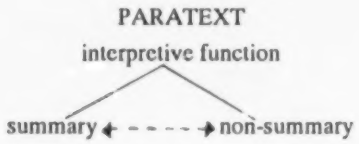
Subheadline:
1 sum.) Le parti monarchiste attend l'hypothétique retour d'une famille princière chassée en 1801 par les tsars russes

Lead:
2) Plus de 60 000 nationalistes géorgiens se sont rassemblés lundi soir dans un stade de Tbilissi /.../.

Thus, instead of defining the function of the headline system and the lead as a summary function, as we find in van Dijk (1988a, 1988b), it is in my opinion more useful to work with a functional typology, where the individual types are distributed on a scale. The extremities of the scale consist in two functional types: summary (Appendix 1) or non-summary (Appendix 2). Between these two extremes you will find a number of functional types where the headline system and the lead not only transform the linguistic form of the text, its linearity, and the distance between

Enunciator 1 and Enunciator 2 in the pragmatic structure, but also include new information not found in the text.

Figure 2.



Transformation of:
a) the linguistic form of the text,
b) the linearity of the text, and
c) the distance between Enunciator 1 and Enunciator 2

5. Conclusion

The elements proposed in Section 4 of this paper form no more than an outline of a theory which has to be developed theoretically and tested empirically. But I am convinced that my conception of the paratextual structure of news texts is stronger, if I may say so, than the conception formulated by van Dijk, and that it reflects more precisely this rather complex and often very surprising aspect of news discourse.

Notes:

1. Cf. T. A. van Dijk (ed.). *Discourse and Communication. New Approaches to the Analysis of Mass Media Discourse and Communication* (1985), M. Mouillaud & J.F. Tétu. *Le journal quotidien* (1989) and Metodos de analisis de la prensa. *Annexes aux Mélanges de la Casa de Velàzquez 2*, 1987, P. Mancini (ed.). A Special Issue on the Analysis of News Texts. *European Journal of Communication* Vol. 3-2, 1988 and P. Chareaudeau (ed.). La Presse. Produit, production, réception. *CAD - Collection Langage, discours et sociétés* .4, 1988.

2. Cf. G. Genette. *Seuils* (1987) and the special issue of the French literary review *Poétique* 69, 1988: Paratextes.

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APPENDIX 1.

Ex. (I)
La Tribune de l'Expansion

La Bourse de Paris poursuit inexorablement sa baisse : – 0,94 %

La SAE toujours très entourée Géophysique cède du terrain

Avec un nouveau repli de l'indice Cac 40 (– 0,94 %), la Bourse de Paris est en passe d'effacer l'ensemble de ses gains obtenus depuis le début de l'année

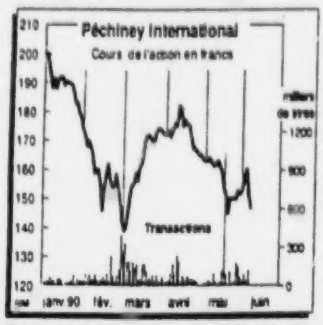
■ La Bourse de Paris a commencé la semaine sur une note de faiblesse. En repli de 1,18 % à l'ouverture, l'indice Cac 40 a par la suite limité sa baisse pour terminer sur un glissement de 0,94 %.

Les exercices se suivent mais ne se ressemblent pas à la **Géophysique**. Après avoir fait repasser dans le vert les bénéfices de sa société en 1989, Claude Sarrochi prévoit une perte pour le premier semestre 1990. Le titre a accusé le coup immédiatement, en abandonnant pas moins de 9,2 % à 1.135 francs dans un volume toutefois étroit de 7.950 pièces échangées. Claude Sarrachi ne désarme pas pour autant. Il met en avant des facteurs externes défavorables d'ordre politique, monetaire et saisonnier. Du coup, il prévoit pour l'ensemble de l'année en cours un bénéfice quasiment idennque à celui de l'exercice précédent, à savoir près de 19,4 millions de francs.

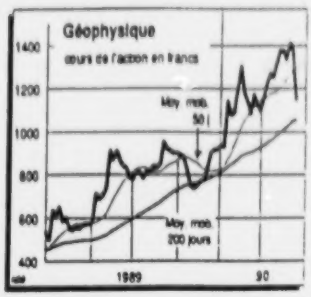
Vallourec perd 10,4 % à 326 francs dans un marché de 50.000 titres. Au siège de la société, on ne fournit aucune explication. Une assemblée doit se tenir demain au cours de laquelle on ne doit rien annoncer de spectaculaire, d'après la direction.

Avec 70 % de ses ventes réalisées aux Etats-Unis, **Pechiney International** a fait les frais de la baisse du dollar. L'exercice 1990 se soldera inévitablement par une baisse des bénéfices, si l'on en croit les propos de Jean Gandois, qui attribue ce repli à la faiblesse du billet vert. Les effets sur le titre ne se sont pas fait attendre. Pechiney International a cédé 3,4 % à 146,8 francs dans un marché de 131.000 titres. Rappelons que Pechiney a dégagé en 1989 un bénéfice net de l'ordre de 1,27 milliard de francs.

Après une saison jugée catastrophique par les professionnels, **Salomon** fait ses comptes. Le groupe spécialisé dans l'équipement de sports d'hiver affiche pour l'exercice 1989-1990, clos le 31 mars, une perte estimée à 90,7 millions de francs. L'action a abandonné hier 1,7 % à 1.405 francs avec 7.570 titres échangés. Pour autant, Salomon distribuera un dividende au titre de l'exercice 1989 de 22 francs (comme l'exercice précédent).



◊ Avec 70 % de ses ventes aux Etats-Unis, Pechiney fait les frais de la baisse du dollar : la croissance de ses bénéfices pourrait baisser dès cette année.



◊ Après un exercice 1989 dans le vert, le président de Géophysique annonce une perte pour le premier semestre. L'action a perdu 9,2 % à 1.135 francs.

Rien de très significatif n'a été observé du côté des hausses. Seule, la SAE s'est une fois de plus distinguée, avec un gain de 2,3 % à 1.215 francs dans un marché nourri de 96.000 titres. Vendredi 2,4 % du capital avaient déjà changé de mains. Les désaccords persistent entre les cadres dirigeants de SAE et les projets du groupe Pelège qui détient 20,16 % du capital officiellement.

G. M.

APPENDIX 2.

EX. (II)
Le Figaro

Géorgie

En attendant le roi...

Le parti monarchiste attend l'hypothétique retour d'une famille princière chassée en 1801 par les tsars russes.

Plus de 60 000 nationalistes géorgiens se sont rassemblés lundi soir dans un stade de Tbilissi où leurs dirigeants ont lancé un appel au refus du service militaire soviétique et à l'unité pour obtenir l'indépendance.

Ce rassemblement était organisé dans le cadre des cérémonies à la mémoire des « *martyrs* » tués un an auparavant par des soldats soviétiques lors de la répression d'une manifestation indépendantiste.

TBILISSI :
de notre envoyé spécial
Pierre BOCEV

A côté de l'entrée de l'immeuble pompeux, avenue Roustaveli, en plein centre-ville, on a tout juste eu le temps d'enlever la plaque. Aucun étranger ne soupçonnerait qu'il y avait ici, il y a deux mois encore, l'Institut du marxisme-léninisme du PC géorgien.

Signe des temps, les chefs às idéologies ont cédé leurs bureaux du rez-de-chaussée, tout au fond du couloir, au parti constitutionnel monarchiste. Teimour Jorjoliani, président de cette formation qui se dit forte de 7 000 adhérents, n'a lui-même rien d'un descendant royal. En jeans et veston de toile, on lui donnerait plutôt le profil d'un bon prolétaire. Son « secrétaire politique » à la barbe broussailleuse, Gueorgui Khonolidze, ne ressemble pas davantage à un membre de la famille des Bagration, les princes géorgiens exilés depuis « *la première annexion* », par-la-Russie, en 1801.

« *Notre idée est de faire un parti conservateur* », explique le président. Au mur, des taches claires indiquent nettement l'endroit où devait se trouver le portrait de Lénine, peut-être de Staline, en Géorgie, on ne sait jamais. « *Nous voulons construire sur les bases du traditionalisme et redonner à chaque Géorgien le bonheur non seulement de l'indépendance, mais de la grandeur d'antan.* »

« Une loi cosmique »

Comment, de là, en arriver à l'idée monarchique. Lavon Kiladze, astrologue de son état, se fait fort de le montrer. « *La démocratie n'est jamais que la dictature de la majorité sur la minorité ; d'où l'idéal d'une monarchie constitutionnelle. Après soixante-dix ans de dictature du prolétariat, la monarchie entraînera la formation de l'élite nécessaire pour combattre l'idéologie satanique. La lutte des forces de l'ombre contre celles de la lumière se poursuivra, c'est une loi cosmique.* »

Le parti a été créé au lendemain du massacre du 9 avril. Guergui Bagration, le roi en puissance, réside à Malaga et aurait exprimé son soutien « *récemment* » dans un télégramme à ses sujets, à la fois monarchistes et révolutionnaires.

« *Nous sommes forts et nous le deviendrons encore plus*, affirme le président Jorjoliani. *Notre première tâche, pour l'instant, est de nous opposer aux élections que veut organiser le régime.* » Pour un parti monarchiste, c'est bien la moindre des choses que de récuser un scrutin.

P. B.